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LETTER DATED 9 MARCH 1993 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF ANGOLA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I have the honour to transmit a copy of the message from His Excellency Mr. Venancio de Moura, Minister of External Relations of the Republic of Angola, to the Secretary-General, and with the request that it be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Afonso VAN DUNEM "MBINDA"
Ambassador
Permanent Representative

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Annex

Letter dated 5 March 1993 from the Minister of External Relations of Angola addressed to the Secretary-General

In pursuance of paragraph 8 of Security Council resolution 804 (1993) of 29 January 1993, the Government of Angola regrets advising that, regardless of all the efforts expended by it, by the United Nations Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II), through the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General, and by the observers of the Angolan peace process, no real progress towards the implementation of the Peace Accords has been made to the present time.

As is publicly known and has been corroborated by all the participants in the peace process (see attached communiqué from the "Troika" meeting of the observer countries from Lisbon (enclosure I), statement by the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General from Addis Ababa (enclosure II), and communiqué from the observers, also from Addis Ababa (enclosure III); the absence of such progress is due to the delegation of the União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola (UNITA) not having appeared at the first Addis Ababa meeting mandated for immediate re-establishment of the cease-fire, as called for in paragraph 3 of the cited resolution, and not having shown up at the second meeting, thereby failing to fulfil its prior commitment to the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and not responding to the efforts and guarantees which, from Addis Ababa, all the delegations present made a point of reiterating.

In view of the gravity of the military situation in Angola, where UNITA's leadership, with the support of certain countries in the region, insists on stepping up its armed attacks and preventing the functioning of the country's legitimate democratic institutions and UNITA's refusal to re-establish a significant political dialogue demonstrating its will to abide, without exception, by the Peace Accords, the Government of Angola reaffirms its position vis-à-vis resolution 804 (1993):

1. It remains available for re-establishing immediately respect for the cease-fire and a permanent, significant dialogue with UNITA, with a view to drawing up a clear timetable for the full implementation of the Peace Accords, mainly by making use of the mechanisms provided for therein;

2. It assures total cooperation and collaboration with regard to the international guarantees provided for in the Peace Accords, reaffirming in particular, as established in the Namibe Declaration, its interest in the qualitative and quantitative strengthening of the United Nations role;

3. It requests, under the terms of paragraph 18 of resolution 804 (1993), that the Security Council consider all appropriate measures for assuring full implementation of the Peace Accords, making UNITA in particular, respect the electoral results, return to the Angolan Armed Forces, vacate all the provincial towns occupied by force, and put an end to the hostilities unleashed by it even before confirmation of the electoral results by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on 17 October 1992;

4. It also requests from the entire international community, under the terms of paragraph 7 of the same resolution, the technical and economic assistance necessary for the reconstruction and development of the country.

5. It also considers that the Security Council must take into account, besides the reports of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, the positions of the peace process observer countries that are reported in the communiqué of the Lisbon meeting (enclosure I).

Ministry of External Relations
of the Republic of Angola

(Signed) Venancio DE MOURA

Enclosure I

Communiqué of the "Troika" released on 1 March 1993 concerning Addis Ababa II

The representatives of the observer countries of the peace process in Angola have confirmed that, due to UNITA's failure to meet its commitment to travel to Addis Ababa, the second meeting between delegations of the Government of Angola and of UNITA, organized under United Nations auspices, has not materialized.

They also confirmed the presence in the Ethiopian capital of the remaining participants in the meeting, in particular that of the Government of Angola.

Thus, all efforts developed previously on that same spot by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and by the Government of Angola for the holding of this meeting, in particular to assure the UNITA delegation of the travel and security conditions demanded by the leadership of that party and guaranteed by the Government, have come to naught.

In the sequence of what was agreed on in the latest meeting of the observers at the political level, held in Lisbon, the representatives of the observer countries will now proceed with consultations in the respective capitals with a view to taking a position vis-à-vis continuation of the conflict that prevents full-scale application of the Peace Accords for Angola and UNITA's refusal to show up at the second Addis Ababa meeting.

Enclosure II

Statement to the press made by Mrs. Margaret J. Anstee, Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Angola, on 1 March 1993

Yesterday morning, I was informed by two UNITA representatives present here, coming out of Angola, that they had received, the night before, a telephone call from General Manuvakola, the head of the UNITA delegation to the talks on peace in Angola that were to have begun on 26 February. General Manuvakola expressed his thanks to UNAVEM for the efforts made to supply transportation and the safety guarantees to enable the participation of his delegation in the meeting. However, UNITA's leadership still considered that the danger involved was too great, in view of the fact that the provisions made implied prior communication of the time and place of departure of the UNAVEM plane, and they preferred, therefore, to supply their own transportation, which would take several days and, seeing that they could not specify a precise date for the arrival of their delegation, they requested a postponement of the meeting and reaffirmed that they continue to be deeply interested in taking part therein.

I explained to the UNITA representatives that a postponement sine die was not possible or acceptable and I reiterated my points of view that the provisions made by UNAVEM with regard to transport provided all necessary safety guarantees, as well as my appeal of the previous day for an immediate truce throughout the national territory, which should completely dispel such worries.

At my suggestion, the UNITA representatives met later with the government delegation. I also had personal meetings with the government delegation and with the representatives of the three observer countries of the Peace Accords. Last night, in a final meeting with UNITA representatives, I informed them that the United Nations wanted to receive by 9 a.m. today, a clear indication from the UNITA leadership that it would arrive here in time to enable the already delayed talks about peace to begin on Tuesday, 2 March. In case of a negative reply, even though I had assured them that the provisions were adequate, the meeting would be cancelled and the delegations of the Government, the three observer countries, and UNAVEM would return immediately to Angola. I explained clearly the very serious consequences of such a result and that UNITA would be considered responsible for the breakdown of the talks.

Very early this morning, the UNITA representatives informed me that their leadership, having discussed my message, still considered that the dangers were too great to use the UNAVEM plane. Although they had already made their own provisions, their delegation could not be in Addis Ababa in time to be able to begin the meeting tomorrow or even on Wednesday. They maintained, however, their request for postponement of the meeting without an exact date by which they could confirm definitively their availability. UNITA reiterated its desire to engage in peace talks.

These occurrences left me with no alternative but to cancel this second round of talks about peace in Addis Ababa. It is a decision I made with the

greatest regret. This result is a bitter deception for all of us engaged in the Angolan process, and especially for the Angolan people, who continue to be the victims of this savage war.

Many things depended on this meeting in Addis Ababa, the last in a series of aborted attempts to establish a cease-fire and put an end to the tragic cycle of violence and death in which Angola is once again immersed. Cancellation of the meeting represents an unhappy set-back to the prospects for peace in the near future. Although both the Government and UNITA have assured me of their commitment to dialogue and in seeking a political, not a military solution, it is difficult to conceive how these objectives can be achieved if it is not even possible, by reason of deep suspicion and lack of confidence, for the two parties to meet in the same place. In addition to this, each set-back of this kind aggravates the mutual resentment and makes the path to be travelled even more difficult.

In my Saturday statement, I described in detail the meticulous provisions made by the United Nations to assure the safe transport of the UNITA delegation to this location. In addition to this, these provisions were discussed with UNITA for more than a week before the date scheduled for the opening of the meeting. Although I may understand UNITA's preoccupation with the safety of its leaders, I can find no justification for its refusal to accept the guarantees furnished by UNAVEM, particularly when high-ranking military observers and other UNAVEM personnel were to have accompanied them.

It is truly tragic that this crucial meeting, on which so many hopes and fears depended, should have failed for a reason of this kind. I am grateful that the delegations of the Government and of the three observer countries of the Peace Accords had accepted the invitation of the United Nations to travel to Addis Ababa and had shown so much patience in these four days of waiting. The most injured, however, are the long-suffering people of Angola, who continue to endure the calamitous effects of the civil war and of the destruction, putting thousands of families in mourning, leaving other thousands mutilated and homeless, indiscriminately devastating the lives of young and old alike, and destroying the resources of a potentially rich country.

Given the collapse of the provisions made for this meeting, a cease-fire now appears further away than ever. However, I insisted that both parties should respond favourably to my 28 February appeal for a truce, particularly to make possible the furnishing of the desperately needed humanitarian assistance.

As for the next steps, I am informing the Secretary-General of what has happened and he, in turn, must inform the Security Council, which then will decide on the measures to be taken in the context of its resolution 804 (1993) adopted on 29 January 1993.

It must be clear to all, inside and outside Angola, that continuation of the military actions brings victory to no one, but only more death and destruction to a people who have already suffered more than a human being can bear. Unless this cycle of violence, vengeance and retaliation is abandoned, Angolans will face an even more desolate future. A human catastrophe of incalculable proportions is already tragically visible.

Despite this unhappy set-back in Addis Ababa, both Angolans and the international community must redouble their efforts to find a rapid solution. It is never too late for peace.

Last, but not the least, I would like to praise the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa, the Deputy Secretary-General, Mr. Layashi Yaker, and all his dedicated collaborators, for their always effective and valuable support in maintaining the conditions necessary for holding the meeting during the entire weekend, and for their patience in facing the delays and the constant changes in plans. I offer you my apologies for all the inconveniences that we committed involuntarily and I thank you very cordially for your solidarity with our efforts to help Angola achieve peace.

Enclosure III

Communiqué

Delegations of the United States of America, the Russian Federation and Portugal, headed respectively, by the Deputy Secretary of State for African Affairs, Herman Cohen, by the Director of the African Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Gregory Karassin, and by the Secretary of State of Cooperation, Briosa e Gala, met in Lisbon on 23 February 1993, to discuss the latest development in the situation in Angola and to prepare the second meeting of direct talks between the Government of Angola and UNITA which will be held on 26 March 1993 in Addis Ababa under the auspices of the United Nations.

The three delegations reaffirmed that the only political way out for Angola's post-electoral crisis lies in the observance of, and compliance with, the Peace Accords signed in Lisbon on 31 May 1991, and that the elections of 29-30 September 1992 were, as confirmed by the United Nations, generally free and fair, acknowledging, therefore, the legitimacy of the democratic institutions resulting therefrom.

They agreed, also, on the essential role that the United Nations must perform in the implementation of the tasks necessary for a lasting solution of the present crisis in Angola.

Relative to the Peace Accords, the observers discussed specific measures for assuring and strengthening the necessary steps for the conclusion of the process.

In the first place, they agreed that the priority goal is the re-establishment of the cease-fire throughout the Angolan territory. The Government of Angola and UNITA must agree on a specific timetable for implementation of the cease-fire and reactivate the mechanisms provided for in the Peace Accords. However, they could immediately respond positively to the appeals for truce launched mainly by the International Red Cross and by the United Nations, with a view to the provision of urgent humanitarian assistance to the neediest Angolan populations.